Premises and Pitfalls of the Coming Peace Talks, Pps. 2-3

The Most Prophetic Remark of the Week

"We have just de-escalated one war and escalated another."

—Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D. Mich.), *a Negro, on the slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King.*

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The Fire Has Only Just Begun

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was the occasion for one of those massive outpourings of hypocrisy characteristic of the human race. He stood in that line of saints which goes back from Gandhi to Jesus; his violent end, like theirs, reflects the hostility of mankind to those who annoy it by trying hard to pull it one more painful step further up the ladder from ape to angel.

The President and the Washington establishment had been working desperately up until the very moment of Dr. King's killing to keep him and his Poor People's March out of the capital; his death, at first, promised to let them rest in peace. The masses they sang were not so much of requiem as of thanksgiving, that the nation's No. 1 Agitator had been laid to rest at last. Then a minority of his own people, and not all of them the ignorant and the hungry, celebrated his memory with an orgy of looting while black radicals and New Leftists hailed the mindless carnival as a popular uprising. Since the liquor stores were the No. 1 target, it might sourly be termed the debut of Marxism-Liquorism in revolutionary annals. Those among his own people who sneered at his non-violent teaching as obsolete now seized upon his death as a new excuse for the violence he hated. Thus all sides firmly united in paying him homage.

Investigate the Memphis Police

Dr. King was a victim of white racism. Its record encourages such murders. Dr. King was only the most eminent in a long series of civil rights victims. The killers are rarely caught, even more rarely convicted; the penalties are light. The complicity, in this case, may go further. It is strange that the killer was so easily able to escape when the motel in which he was killed was ringed with police; some came within a few moments from the very direction of the fatal shot. Violent anti-Negro organizations like the Klan have their cells in many police forces. The Memphis police had shown their hatred in the indiscriminate violence with which they broke up Dr. King's march a week earlier. The Attorney General should be pressed to include the Memphis police in his investigation of the slaying.

Though Dr. King was the greatest Southerner of our time, few Southern political leaders expressed any sorrow over his passing. Most, like Stennis of Mississippi, ventured no more than antiseptic and ambivalent condemnation of *all* violence. In the House on April 8 the few Southerners who spoke deplored the riots more than the killing. The one exception was Rep. Bob Eckhardt of Texas who dared call Dr. King "my black brother." Privately many white Southerners rejoiced, and their influence was reflected in the scandalous failure to declare a holiday in the District the day Dr. King was buried. Though stores closed, government offices were open and Negro mailmen delivered the mail as usual. This is still, despite its black majority, a Southern-ruled town; it shuts down on Washington's birthday, but not Lincoln's.

Bitter Last Words It Is Dangerous To Forget

"Our national government is playing Russian roulette with riots; it gambles with another summer of disaster. Not a single basic social cause of riots has been corrected. Though ample resources are available, they are squandered substantially on war. However, the inhumanity and irresponsibility of Congress and the Administration are not a reflection of popular attitudes—legislation to abolish slums and end all unemployment have been endorsed by a wide majority of the American people in reputable polls. Yet, these positive proposals, like the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders will be filed away to gather dust if the people do not generate relentless pressure on Congress.

"It was obdurate government callousness to misery that first stoked the flames of rage and frustration. With unemployment a scourge in Negro ghettoes, the government still tinkers with trivial half-hearted measures, refuses still to become an employer of last resort. It asks the business community to solve the problem as though its past failures qualified it for future success."

—Dr. Martin Luther King's last letter asking support for his march on Washington.

The most powerful of the District's absentee rulers, Senator Robert C. Byrd (*D. W. Va.*) went so far as to imply in a Senate speech April 5 that Dr. King was to blame for his own death. Byrd said those who organize mass demonstrations may "in the end . . . become themselves the victims of the forces they set in motion." While Dr. King "usually spoke of non-violence," Byrd went on smugly, "violence all too often attended his action and, at the last, he himself met a violent end." This should make Bryd the South's favorite criminologist.

Byrd is the Senator to whom the blacks of Washington must come for school and welfare money. As chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on the District of Columbia budget, Byrd wields far more power than the city's figurehead Negro "Mayor." He has used this key position to

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The Basic Premises and Treacherous Pitfalls of the Coming Peace Talks

Johnson's Tricky Stance and Military Hostility Bear Watching

We are in a new era of American history. After the tumultuous events of the past two weeks, the campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination suddenly seems minor, almost irrelevant. The U.S. faces a prolonged period of internal strife and economic difficulties. It is against this background that the peace talks on Vietnam will begin. They will be extraordinarily complex and slow and may easily break down. It may help to clarify what we are up against if we set down a few fundamental observations:

1. In An Editorial April 9 the *Washington Post* asked of the negotiations, "what in the way of a compromise settlement could we accept without risking all that we have been fighting for?" The question reflects an obsolete frame of reference. We have to start by recognizing that Vietnam and indeed all Southeast Asia is a trap from which we must extricate our country for its own good. Even before the disorders which followed the murder of Dr. King, it was clear that this was a quicksand. In it the dollar was sinking and with it the whole structure of world trade and prosperity. The money needed for reconstruction at home was being blown away abroad. Now, to put it bluntly, we must recognize that we may soon need these troops at home.

We Must Get Out of Asia

2. What We Had Been Fighting For was a foothold on the Asian mainland as part of our attempt since 1947 to enforce a Pax Americana in the world. A "Vietnam" was bound sooner or later to happen. Now we must recognize (1) that we cannot be an Asian power and (2) that a Pax Americana is beyond our strength and means. This dictates the end of SEATO, the liquidation of the Thai bases and disengagement as soon as possible from the Chinese and Korean civil wars. We have to get out of Asia for our own good and then we have to strive for the building of a world order through the United Nations to maintain the peace. We cannot do it alone; that is imperialism, not internationalism; that is the course which has begun to bleed and bankrupt us.

3. The Financial Markets reflect how clearly American capitalists understand this. A striking example occurred in the bond market the day Hanoi charged we had bombed areas near the Chinese and Laotian borders, far to the north of the bomb limit presumably set by the President. The result was an immediate drop in the price of bonds. Investors want peace, not war. Unfortunately the combination of our powerful military bureaucracy, with its suppliers; the anti-Communist obsessions frozen into American thinking by the cold war; and the small town Babbitts who dominate so many key Congressional committees remain obstacles to peace.

If The Dirty Dogs Insist on Democracy What Chance Is There For Peace?

"Although South Vietnam's President, Nguyen Van Thieu, seemed more receptive, at his news conference today, to the idea of negotiations, few—if any—American officials here appear to believe that he will ever accept the idea of coalition in any real sense. Token representation for the Viet Cong perhaps. But . . . as these Americans see it, the enemy negotiators would insist—at the very least—on a completely representational form of government."

—Gene Roberts from Saigon, New York Times April 3, reporting a conversation with "a high State Department official . . . mellow over a glass of Scotch" who said "We cannot agree to a coalition government" because that "would be losing the ball game."

4. It Is Dangerous to trust Johnson. He is impulsive and emotional, given to wide swings of mood, and irremediably a trickster. Even though the objective situation calls for peace, he left himself free in his "abdication" speech to escalate as well as de-escalate. This is the darker and more sinister possibility in his claim that he has freed himself from the pressures of politics. That also means the pressure of public opinion. He is still obsessed with the idea that he can win the restoration of an independent South Vietnam in the American sphere of influence. Even if we could get it, it wouldn't be worth it because sooner or later the war would flare up again and engulf us once more in the morass of combat on the Asian mainland.

5. To Guard Against unpleasant surprise from Johnson, it would be well to beware the outburst of sentimental nonsense about his noble abnegation of power. The old fox hasn't given up power. He has regained it. The other Demo-

Medical Profession Warns of Dangers In New Spray for Mob Control—Mace

Chicago—The disabling riot-control chemical spray Mace is coming under increasing criticism from the medical profession. A pediatrician in suburban Skokie, who asked not to be identified because of medical ethics, said that he recently treated a teenage boy who had been Maced by police. The boy, the doctor said, "spent five days with excoriations (redness and bruises) about the entire eye." He said that skin peeled from the youth's face and from around the eye. "There's no question about it (Mace) being bad for the respiratory system when there is already a lot of edema (swelling) in bronchial troubles, such as asthma."

The doctor said that Mace also endangers people with rheumatic heart trouble or a congenital heart condition. He added that pressure from the spray may damage eyes. "It works by displacing oxygen," commented Dr. Quintin D. Young, national president of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, "so it could be very catastrophic."

"If a person has heart trouble or acute asthma," agreed Dr. Edward H. Malters, chief physician at the Cook County jail, "this man could suffer a fatal dosage." . . . County Sheriff Joseph Woods, whose men widely used Mace last year, also defended Mace in spite of the reports of aftereffects because "anyone prone to a heart attack has no business at a riot or agitating." However, at least one city has second thoughts about the use of Mace. On March 19, use of Mace by police was ordered halted in Ann Arbor, Mich., until the chemical's possible dangerous effects could be studied.

—York (Pa.)* Gazette and Daily, *April 4. The same paper the same day carried a story from Waterbury, Conn., reporting the use of Mace on a group of twelve children.

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Best Hope Lies in Secret Talks Between NLF and Other South Vietnamese

Rigged Elections Trapped Us With A Pro-War Minority Regime in Saigon

cratic candidates dare not attack him because his votes may enable him to control the outcome at the Democratic convention. The silence and caution of Chicago's Daley and other urban bosses indicates that he is leaving his option open for a draft. He has left Humphrey high and dry and made himself the party's center of power again. His "abdication" was a brilliant stroke of politics.

Why the Korean Talks Dragged On

6. THE BIGGEST REASON why the Korean war dragged on for two costly years after the peace talks began is that our military and the right-wing South Korean regime of Syngman Rhee were opposed to peace and wanted to go North and win the war. The same situation exists in South Vietnam. We are now trapped by our own rigged elections which have created a democratic facade for a military dictatorship of die-hard Northerners buttressed by an unrepresentative legislature in which South Vietnam's 2,000,000 minority Catholics, many of them refugees from the North, wield vastly disproportionate power. The government we support is a government of pro-war anti-social reform elements, military men, absentee landlords and urban profiteers, all of whom stand to lose by peace. They will keep us at war if they can. It is hopeless to talk of negotiations between this "Saigon" and the NLF and we will have to get rid of it to achieve peace. A representative government would not be Communist; fair and honest elections might not even produce an NLF majority. But it would produce an overwhelming majority for peace and with that government the NLF could and has offered to negotiate. That is our best way out and Vietnam's.

7. THE DIE-HARDS WILL USE as their propaganda weapon the fear that a new regime would mean their death. Better to offer them asylum than continue the war. This plea comes from people who have shown no mercy to their own opponents. In any case as a matter of blunt arithmetic the war is killing far more Vietnamese than any Communist or NLF victory could. As David Bonavia, the Saigon correspondent of the *London Times* wrote April 8—

Let's Paste This Memo In The Hat Of Whoever Negotiates With Hanoi

One of the most acute of U.S. government analysts, recently returned from Viet Nam, sums it up as follows: "There are three things worse than a bad settlement of Viet Nam right now. The first is an invasion of the North and a confrontation with China. The second is the same bad settlement two or three years from now with all the additional casualties—which is about the best we can expect. And the third alternative worse than a bad settlement now is a good settlement, achieving all the Administration's demands, four or five years from now. For four or five years of that level of risk, even if we avoid a war with the Chinese, will wreck all our other objectives around the world and tear our own society here at home into shreds."

—Roger Hilsman in the April Foreign Affairs.

The massacre argument is also somewhat illogical if it entails killing something like 100,000 people every year in order to prevent a probably smaller number from being killed in a once-for-all settling of accounts. It entails an assumption that foreigners are qualified to judge which Vietnamese should be allowed to live at the cost of the deaths of others—surely a very bold assumption, and a dangerous one.

8. THE BEST WAY TO AVOID this stumbling block is by secret negotiations between the NLF and a wide spectrum of representatives from other parts of the population—the Buddhists, the sects, the Southern gentry who resent domination of the puppet regime in the South by Northern military men—and hammer out a humane and viable settlement between them. At a time when fresh liberal ideas and new demands for freedom are breaking out everywhere in the Soviet bloc, Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong should help guarantee that there will be no brutal Stalin-style solution. We believe and hope they can. The success of the negotiations, the welfare of their bleeding and battered country and of the world may depend upon it. The Vietnamese have shown their unparalled bravery. Let them now demonstrate an equal wisdom in fraternity.

A Violation of Our Treaty Obligations Not to Use Space for Warlike Purposes

"I strongly oppose the administration's placing the manned orbiting laboratory (MOL) program under the jurisdiction of the U. S. Air Force. . . .

"I strongly oppose the action of Secretary of Defense McNamara when, in his December 10, 1963, news conference, Mr. McNamara announced without prior notice of any kind that the manned orbiting laboratory program would be assigned to the Air Force. Neither Congress nor the scientific community of the country had had any prior notice or inkling that this was to be the case.

"It is complete fiction to state, as Secretary of Defense McNamara has assumed, that MOL is completely a military task. . . . The announcement by Secretary McNamara makes a fiction and is in direct violation of the expressed intent of the Congress in section 102(a) of the original Space Act, 'The Congress hereby declares that it is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.' . . .

"On January 27, 1967, the United States, U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and many other nations signed the treaty on principles governing the exploration and use of outer space. On April 25, 1967, the U. S. Senate ratified the treaty, and the U.S.S.R. similarly ratified the treaty on May 18, 1967. It is provided in the space treaty that space shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Thus, is the U.S. policy on the use of space facing two directions? Has the United States already been violating this treaty?

"Being first in space for scientific purposes is one thing. Being first in space to better deliver weapons of destruction or nuclear and atomic weapons is quite another field entirely. Do the American people want the administration to have the first manned orbiting laboratory solely dedicated for military purposes?"

—Rep. Fulton (R. Pa.) *in comments attached to the House Space Committee's latest report on NASA.*

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How the "Man in the House" Rule Breeds Fatherless Child Looters

(*Continued from Page One*)

block liberalization of welfare rules not only in the District but in the country, since the Federal government can hardly apply elsewhere rules more liberal than those he will allow in the District. Byrd has become the national pillar of the "man in the house" rule. This, as the report of the Commission on Civil Disorders protested, makes it necessary for the unemployed father to "abandon his family or see them go hungry." In this sense not a few of the child looters in our gutted ghettoes can trace their delinquency straight back to Robert C. Byrd.

The Distant Country of the Ghetto

For whites who live like myself in almost lily-white Northwest Washington on the very edge of suburbia, the ghetto disorders might have taken place in a distant country, viewed on TV like Vietnam (which it begins to resemble), or as a tourist attraction on a visit in the bright spring sunshine before curfew to the sullen and ruined ghetto business districts. It was not until five days after the trouble started that two young soldiers turned up for the first time to guard our own neighboring shopping center—"as a precautionary measure", they explained—and tape appeared on its liquor store windows. Even sympathetic and radical whites found themselves insulated from what was going on not just by the military cordons but even more by an indiscriminate black hostility. Even some Liberal and Leftist families with children moved out of integrated neighborhoods on the edge of the ghetto in apprehension. These were our first refugees from black power.

Nothing could be more deceptive than the nationwide mourning. Beneath the surface nothing has changed, except perhaps for the worst. The President has called off his address to a joint session indefinitely. His Senate Majority leader, Mansfield, warns the Congress not to be "impetuous" in reacting to the disorders. How fortunate we should be if all our dangers were as remote as this one! The new civil rights bill, if it passes, is more likely to bring new evils in its anti-riot provisions than reform in housing.

In Washington, as in most cities hit by black violence, the police and the troops have been on their best behavior to the point where business spokesmen are complaining that there has been too much leniency in dealing with looters. For once, to the Administration's credit, lives have been put ahead of property. Had police and soldiers begun to shoot, the killings would have become a massacre and the riots a black revolution. As it is, in Washington at least, the black community has been grateful for the protection afforded it. But this leniency is unlikely to survive when and if white rather than black areas begin to go up in smoke. There is little time left for the big multi-billion dollar program which can alone rehabilitate the hopeless and bitter generation of blacks that racial discrimination and the slums have bred. Whites still think they can escape the problem by moving to the suburbs, and as long as they think so, nothing will be done. There are already 55,000 troops in our 110 scarred cities—more than we had in Vietnam three years ago. Already the police talk of guerrilla war. If it comes, a half million troops will not be enough to contain it. A looting suspect told one reporter at a police station here, "We're going to burn this whole place. It might take years but we'll do it." This is the agony of a lost race speaking. If we cannot respond with swift compassion, this is the beginning of our decline and fall. *Noon April 9*

The Fate In Store For All Of Us

"The share of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the disadvantaged is insufficient to arrest the deterioration of life in central city ghettoes. Under such conditions, a rising proportion of Negroes may come to see in the deprivation and segregation they experience, a justification for violent protest, or for extending support to now isolated extremists who advocate civil disruption. Large-scale continuing violence could result, followed by white retaliation, and, ultimately, the separation of the two communities in a garrison state. . . . This spiral could quite conceivably lead to a kind of urban apartheid with semi-martial law in many major cities, enforced residence of Negroes in segregated areas, and a drastic reduction in personal freedom for all Americans, particularly Negroes."

—Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

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